

A FOURTH
ADDRESS

FROM

CHARLES LUCAS, M.D.

REPRESENTATIVE of the City of DUBLIN in
PARLEMENT,

TO HIS

CONSTITUENTS.



*Manus hæc inimica Tyrannis, LEGE petit placidam
sub Libertate Quietem.*

D U B L I N:

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CHARLES LUCAS, M. D.

REPRESENTATIVE of the City of DUBLIN in
PARLEMENT,

To his intirely beloved and honored

CONSTITUENTS,

FREEDOM, HEALTH and CONCORD.

My most dear Countrymen, Fellow-Citizens and
Friends !

THE present Exigencies of public Affairs call
aloud upon every Member of the Communi-
ty, to exert himself, in his Sphere, for the
Safety and Service of the Commonwealth.

To this Duty, from which no Man is exempt,
I think myself in a more especial Manner bound
than most other Men. It is not onely in Parlement
that your Representative is to watch over, to sup-
port and defend your Rights and Privileges, to vin-
dicate your Honor, to assert and maintain your
Liberty; no; his Task is endless and boundless as
the Trust in him reposed.

If this be a duty incumbent on Members in gene-
ral, it is, in a more especial Manner, incumbent on
me, whose Conduct the Public has honored with
every generous Mark of Approbation, and in whom

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my Fellow-Citizens and their faithful Representatives in the Common Council have, at all Times, more especially upon the present Occasion, reposed a Confidence heretofore hardly to be paralleled.

If a just Sense of my Duty did not conspire with my natural Inclinations to discharge the great Trust and fulfil the most honorable Confidence reposed in me; these would lay me under new and indelible Obligations to exert myself, to the utmost of my Power, in the Service of such truly noble and worthy Masters.

I cannot therefore, content myself with the ordinary Duties of that Station, to which your free and generous Suffrages have called me; but I must hold myself for ever bound to watch over all your political Concerns; and while, with all due Respect and Deference, I receive, and purpose most religiously to observe, the Instructions of my most beloved and esteemed Constituents; I must, from Time to Time, offer them my Sentiments, on all public Matters, in which their Honor or Interest are actually or likely to be concerned.

In this, I shall never presume to dictate: That would be an Arrogance, of which I can never be guilty. But, as it will be no Presumption to say, that I have *laboured more abundantly*, than most of you, in studying the Institution and Constitution, the State and Interest of our Country in general, of our City in particular; it will be judged but one of the Duties I owe you, to offer my Sentiments to your Consideration, when any Thing of public, of national or civil Importance waits for your Determination. And this, I shall do with the same Freedom and Ease, that you will always find me ready to account for my political Conduct to you, who

who have the undoubted and sole Right to inquire how your Servant has discharged and fulfilled his Duty.

It is not be supposed, that any among you are ignorant of the critical Circumstances of this City, I may say of the whole Kingdom in her, upon the present Emergency. You must know, that the Capital of the Kingdom, the Eye and the right Hand of the Nation, wants a REPRESENTATIVE, wants a RECORDER. Would I could say she had not long wanted one or both !-----But let the Dead rest in Peace, and let us take Care of the Living.

Were it not for the Sake of the Public, you must all see, it would be absolutely indifferent to me, on whom your Election, into either Office, should fall. I can have no private Pique or Prejudice, no private Favor or Affection to incline me to oppose, or to espouse, any Candidate for either Employment. I have, indeed, often taken the Liberty to warn you of such as you may not, consistently with your Honor, your Interest, your Duty, your solemn Oaths and other Engagements to Society, choose to represent this great City in Parliament, and I have also pointed out those Characters, which alone can demand, or, indeed admit of, the Voices of sensible and free Electors. I need not at present trouble you with a Recapitulation of Sentiments, long since sufficiently promulged. Fortunately, you have Time enough to deliberate on the Choice of a Representative. It would be happy, if you had had but a little more Time allowed you, to deliberate maturely and freely upon the Choice of a Recorder. But that, without your Knowledge or Consent, is fixed at a short Day; and Time alone can shew how far the Superiors, in the Government of the City, have done right or wrong in fixing
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this very important Election, at so short a Period; and whether this was or was not concerted by the great, to frustrate the known free Intentions of the Commons.

But, be this as it may, it is not fit that the Commons, or the well-intending Aldermen, for, such I must still hope there are, should be taken unawares. If this were the Case, Silence on my Side, when the City has so much at Stake, would be a most unpardonable Crime. And therefore, without regarding whom it may please or displease, I have resolved to acquit my Bosom of this part of my Duty, by laying before you, whom you cannot, and whom you are, in Duty bound to elect, to fill the great and important Office of Recorder of this City.

It is specially provided, by no less Authority than that of MAGNA CHARTA, that the CITY OF DUBLIN SHALL BE FREE. And free, indeed, she must be, if it be not the Fault of her own Children, her Citizens.

While the several Offices of the City are filled with sensible, independent and free Men, the City must flourish, must be free and happy.

But, whenever the Electors of the Magistrates and Officers of the City, forget or neglect the Principles of the Institution, and, instead of choosing, appoint Magistrates and Officers, without any Regard to the requisite Qualifications, as private Affections or Prejudices, the Caprice of Faction, the Influence of the Great, or Self-Interest shall or may direct; farewell to the Liberty of the City! Freedom is but an idle name, a gaudy trapping, that serves onely to cover or set off a Slave. Dublin
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will then exist onely in name, and must become as venal, as much a prostituted Borough, as any of the disgraced neighbouring Cities.

This, you will say, is painting things blacker than they are. I hope, it is so. But, let it be considered, that every Man who gives a Vote for a Representative, a Magistrate, a Common Councilman, or an Officer for this City, whom Reason and Justice, or the first honest, secret Emotions of the Elector's Heart do not fully approve; as much as in him lyes, and in some Degree, brings this Metropolis to the sad Circumstances of a venal and prostituted Borough.

To secure the perfect Freedom of this City, every Magistrate and Officer should be perfectly free and independent. But this Freedom and Independence are in no City Officer more necessary, than in the Recorder.

This Officer is an Assistant or principal Judge in the principal Courts of this City. He is standing Council to the Corporation of this City; bound not onely to conduct their Suits with the Crown, as well as the Subject; but to counsel and direct the Conduct of the Chief and Subordinate Magistrates, and the Common Council, in Matters of Law. He is also the Mouth of the Body Corporate; for, he is to explaine and assert the Rights of the City, in all Courts occasionally, and to pronounce and deliver the Addresses of the City to the King or his Substitutes in the Government of this Kingdom.

To enable him to discharge these weighty Trusts, to a complete Knowledge of the Laws of the Land, the Recorder should add a very perfect Acquaintance

quaintance with the History and Constitution of the City, an intimate Knowledge of it's Customs and Usages, it's Records, Charters, and Laws.

These are some of the material Requisites for a Recorder. Need I add, that he should be a Man of quick and clear Discernment, of sound Sense and Judgment, acquainted with foregne Languages, living and dead, and a perfect Master of the English Tongue? The Necessity of these are obvious to every Eye.

But, with all these, without other Requisites, your Recorder must be maimed and insignificant, an useless Burden or a perpetual Clog to the City. He must be a Man of the most just and nice Sense of Morals, Religion and Honor, of the most irreproachable and spotless Character, and of a Disposition, the most placid and humane, benevolent and merciful, as well as just.

And even if all these and many other requisite Qualifications were actually possessed by this Officer; he would yet be deficient, if he were not absolutely free and independent, totally unconnected with Parties and Factions, and perfectly clear of all Influence of Government: For, the City can hardly be free, or exert her Freedom to any good Purpose, while her Recorder, who is her Law Guardian and Protector, her Amanuensis, and her Mouth, stands under any Degree of sinister Influence, under any Sort of Awe of Power.

You will not, I presume, judge it Vanity in me to say, I know Something of the History, Constitution, Records and Laws of this City, and of the Rights and Privileges, as well as of the Duties of the Citizens. I need not say any Thing of my
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Zele and Fidelity in the Service of the City; these have already received the most honorable Stamp of your Approbation.

You cannot then be ignorant of the Utility and Necessity of appointing another Member, as well as a Recorder, who is likely to agree in the Principles and Sentiments of the Member, you have already thought fit to approve, that they may all concur and draw regularly together in the common Service of the City, regardless of private Interest, or the Influence of Faction or Power.

If this be a desirable Purpose, which you must all confess; you will not think of coupling discordant Servants together: For, besides exposing your City to every Calamity to be dreaded from placing a worthless Partisan in either of these Stations; from the Moment you elect a Man of Qualifications, Principles, or Connexions, different from those you do, or already have honored with your Approbation; from that Moment you use your utmost Means to tie up my Hands, and render me as much a Cypher, as when opposed, in the City, at Court, and in Parlemtent, by a former Officer of yours.----Is there among you a Man who can wish this?-----It is impossible.

Look then among the Multitude, that lay Clame to this Office, and see how few there are that answer the necessary Description. Then, ask your own Hearts, whether you can or cannot, consistent with the Trust reposed in you, consistent with your Oaths and Engagements to the City, from any private Motive, elect a Man, in any material Instance, found disqualified? Whether you are not by your Oaths and every Principle of your Duty, bound to choose the Candidate, who comes nearest

the Test? Or to reject every Petitioner, till you find one fully qualified for all the just Purposes to be expected at the Hands of your Recorder?

If my private Sentiments were fully known to you, the Declaration I am now about to make would be unnecessary. I solemnly declare, I have no Sort of private Pique or Prejudice to any of the Candidates, nor any Sort of Affection or Favor to one of them, but what their several Stations, general Characters, and Conduct in Life demand.

If I be rightly informed, there are many Candidates for this Office. As Candidates, they submit themselves to a rigorous Examination. Without this, you cannot pretend to elect; therefore, I conjure you, examine them severally, strictly, yet fairly, coolly, candidly, dispassionately.

I know, and am known to, several of these Gentlemen, who, I hear, are Candidates. In their private Capacities, I love and esteem several of them. Yet, if the best Characters, and my nearest Friends among them, should appear to me, possessed of a Place or Places, at the Pleasure of the Minister, whether compatible or incompatible with the Office of Recorder, I should think him absolutely unfit for the Office, nor should I hope it possible for him and me to draw well together in the same Service.

It is to Demonstration, clear to me, that no Officer of the Crown, even a King's Council, can consistently be chosen to serve the City, in this Station.

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There is nothing more natural than that Men should, through Gratitude alone, be prejudiced in Favor of the Crown or the Minister, who promotes them to any Station. And this Gratitude, though often mistaken, leads many a good Man to judge every Thing that is supposed to bear the Name or Sanction of the Crown or the Minister, just and good, and to believe it incumbent upon him to support the Measure. A King's Council cannot, if he would, plead against the Crown; nor a King's Servant, against his Master or Patron. How then can any Man, who wishes the City to flourish in Freedom, choose a Man into a principal Office in the City, who is not absolutely inconnected with, and totally independent of Power? The City, it is true, is great, and has much in her Power; but the Crown is far greater, and has much more Power to gratify Avarice, Pride, or Ambition.

If then, Men chosen to this Office, quite inconnected with Power, have found it their Interest, when they could get no more from the City, to turn Tail to her, to neglect her Courts, to slight and to oppress her Citizens, and to turn and pay Court to Power; what is to be expected from Men chosen into this Office, who are confessedly pre-engaged in the Service of the Minister? Which are we to presume, they will the most assiduously serve?

I find, a Report has been industriously spread, to which no Gentleman can well be supposed to give Credit, That a Person of a very high and sacred Character has entered into a compact with a leading Gentleman of the Board; by which it is stipulated, to engage the Interest of the Great Man for electing the Alderman into Parliament for the City, upon his securing the electing the Great Man's Relation, Recorder.

It is neither just nor charitable to suppose a Person, who has supported the Character of a Man of Probity and Worth, in private Life, capable of offering, or permitting to be offered to him, especially in so exalted a Station as that he now fills with Dignity, a Compact of so base, so infamous, so wicked a Nature. The Charge is therefore industriously, and I dare say as truly, denied by the Great Man and his Friends.

And yet it is most certain, that the Men, whose holy Offices should set them above all worldly, Matters, condescend for a While to lay aside the Care of their Flocks, out of pure Love to the Citizens of Dublin, and to interfere in their Elections of Officers and Members of Parlemtent. These Men of God have often distinguished their Holiness most eminently upon former Elections in this City. They failed not to speak, write, and even preach for or against the Candidates, agreeable to the Will of their Patrons, though against their own private Sense and Judgements. They have even been some Time known to head Mobs, with Clubs, instead of Crostiers in their Hands, and Laurel, instead of the Rose, Olive or Palm, in their Hats, to support Ministerial Measures, subversive of the Freedom and Rights of this City and Kingdom. This clerical Condescension never was known to go further than at present, in the peaceful and secret Way of Solicitation; for though the reported Compact be absolutely disclaimed by their Patron; they assiduously go about and use every Kind of Influence, and offer every Kind of Return in their Power, to procure the Election of their Patron's Kinsman. This may, for ought I know, square with the Rules of modern Divinity; but sure I am, it is not agreeable to any Rule of Christianity, Justice or good Policy, that these Men should
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meddle so much in those temporal Matters, which of Right belong to the Laity; while these *Beasts of the People*, as a late *Martyred* Prelate called the Laity, are excluded from all Share in Spiritualities or ecclesiastical Government.

But, since this holy Class must be officiously meddling in all our Elections, and offering illicit Compacts, unauthorised, disclaimed and condemned by their Patrons; it is your Duty to give no Attention to their Politics, and to guard against their Artifices and Wiles, though covered over with Ermin or Lamb's Skin, He that would make the proper Use of Lawyers and Priests, must keep the one to his Brief, the other, to the Bible.

The Office of Recorder, well attended, can leave little or no Vacation to fulfil the Duties of any other Office. So that, with this, every other Office must, in one Degree or other, interfere, and some must prove absolutely incompatible. No Layman can have a better Right to Pluralities of Places, than Parsons to Pluralities of ecclesiastical Preferments. Plurality of Wives may be as reasonable, though not so legal or politic, as plurality of places. And I must confess, I cannot see how it can be reconciled to the Duty of a sensible and good Citizen, to give his Vote for appointing a *Weigh-Master* of another City, at a considerable Distance, the *Clerk of the Crown* of a neighbouring Circuit, the *Seneschal* of a *Lord's Mannor*, or the *President of the County Court*, adjoining the City, or a *Commissioner of Appeals*, each payed by, and held at the Will of the Crown, Recorder of the Capital City of the Kingdom, on whose Freedom and Independence, the Liberty and Well-being of the Whole evidently depends.

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So much for Place-men. It will serve full as well for Pensioners, and other Dependents.

With respect to the as yet unplaced and unpensioned Candidates, let their respective Educations, Dispositions, Manners, Qualifications and Characters, as Gentlemen, as Lawyers, or as Members of Parlemtent, be strictly and justly examined, weighed and compared; then let each Elector coolly judge, who is fittest to be Recorder. And determine, if any man can deserve the Name of a Freeman or good Citizen, who votes upon any other Principle or Motive.

This Officer may be in Effect, reckoned the chief Magistrate of this City, as he must be supposed the principal Counsellor of the Lord Mayor, as well as of the several subordinate Magistrates.

Every Man knows, that the Weight, the Dignity and Authority of the Magistrate, in a great Measure, depends upon the first Impressions made upon the World, by his Education and Manners, his Conduct and Character, in private Life.

If then, a Man proves by his Address and Manners, that he has not had the Education of a Gentleman; if he cannot speak common Sense, in common English; if he cannot write an Advertisement or a Letter, consistent with the simple Rules of Grammar and common Sense; can he be a fit Man to place at the Head of the capital City of the Kingdom? None but such as himself can think so.

If any Man, lawfully convicted of atrocious Offences, or of dissolute Life or Morals, should
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presume to offer himself, and sure there is none such among the present Candidates; would it not be a gross Affront, an Insult to every Elector, whose vote he asked?----Would not his Solicitation shew, that he believed the Electors of a piece with himself? or that they made no distinction between Vice and Virtue? What man of Sense, morals or good Policy, could prostitute a Vote to a profligate, if such should presume to solicit?

If any Candidate should solicit for your Favor in this Election, upon the sole Merit of his Father or Ancestor; you may well tell him, the best of those had little enough for himself, and that it is a kind of Sacrilege to rob the Dead. Let every *Tub stand upon its own bottom*. But, if one of this cast should partially quote the little Merit of his Ancestor, and tell you he was *Aldermanned, Mayoed or Knighted* for his *Whiggism*, it is yours to finish the boasted character, if he chuses to stop short. I beg to be excused from the disagreeable task. When you make it out, vote for a Recorder upon this footing, if you can.

Shall I go further and speak of purchasing, of bribing Candidates? O! no; their proposals bring with them their own condemnation. Let them slumber in Dust and Oblivion!

Thus, should I make objections to such characters, if such were found among the Candidates. But I hope there are, or will be, none such, at the Day of Election; therefore, these characters can only be judged ideal, and as such, can give no real and meritorious Candidate Offence.

I should now turn to the more pleasing Part of
my

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my Task, the pointing out the Qualifications and Excellencies, of the several Candidates. But, want of sufficient knowledge of most of them, prevents this; besides, it can hardly be necessary among persons of such conspicuous Merit.

Moreover, it may be unfit to grate the modesty of some Gentlemen; whose qualifications, conduct and characters speak sufficiently in their Favor.

But give me leave to explaine the motives and the Manner of my conduct, with respect to one of these Gentlemen. And, I hope, he will forgive me, when he finds that Self-justification will not permit me to spare his Blushes.

I have had Opportunities of knowing this Gentleman from his first setting out in life. I have known his Application and Attention to his Studies, and the company he kept. And upon many trials, I have seen the fullest proofs of the man of learning and sense, of knowledge and Judgment in his Profession, of strict morals and Honor, of public Spirit, Humanity and Generosity.

Your Calls brought me from the Mansions of Peace and Plenty, where I first knew this Gentleman, to this City, where I found he had, at my arrival, been sometime called to the Bar, and had already gained the good Opinion of many Persons of sense and judgment, especially in his own Profession.

Soon after my arrival, he gave a new and strong proof of his Generosity and Public Spirit, as well as of his Abilities, upon the general Election; at which, he offered his Service to the free and independent

pendent Electors, attended the whole tedious Election, and asserted and maintained the Rights of the Free Electors, and canvassed and scrutinised the Votes of the others, with all becoming Penetration, Judgment, with Zele and Fortitude, tempered with Modesty and Benevolence. And all this, without accepting any Acknowledgment either from the Electors, or from me. And for this signal Service, neither the free Electors or I could be supposed to ungrateful, as not to think of him for the first Vacancy of the Recorder's Office.

These, and these only, my Good Friends, were and still are my Motives for recommending this Gentleman to the general regard of the City, and particularly to the Common Council, at this critical Conjunction.

But a mere Sense of Gratitude could not have carried me thus far: I could not recommend my nearest and dearest Relation or Friend to you for this important Office, if I did not think him in all Respects fully qualified for the Task, as a Lawyer and a Gentleman, as well as from his being free and independent in his Principles and in his Fortune, and clear of all Connexion that might bias his Judgment, or otherwise injure the City or Kingdom.

If I knew a Man that would accept of the Office, fitter for the Trust than this Gentleman, I should most readily recommend him to you; and if upon a fair and impartial Consideration, you find one of better Parts and Ability, more free from the Influence of faction and power, more independent in fortune and principles, more likely to give himself up totally to the Service of the oppressed City and

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Corporations, to vindicate and assert the Rights and Liberties of the City, to restore the Courts to their antient Weight and Dignity, and to establish peace and Concord between the long-contending parties in this City, I shall readily concur with you, and heartily approve your Choice. But if such should not appear; I must think you bound in Justice, in Honor and in Conscience, to give your free Suffrages to this free Gentleman.

I have not viewed this gentleman in a partial light. I have strictly examined every side of his Character. I diligently sought for such Exceptions as might be offered with any weight against him. I expected to learn these from his Enemies. But Enemies, I found none. I looked among his Competitors, and there, indeed, I found two grand, and the only, Exceptions made to him. You will be surprised to hear them. How shall I seriously name them to sensible and dispassionate Electors?---One is, that he is too young; the other, that he is a friend of mine and recommended by me.

As to his Age, Outward Appearances, I confess are against him. His fathers, it seems, *eat not of four Grapes, whereby their Children's Teeth might be set on Edge*, He has inherited no Disease from them; nor has he been fashionable enough to have got any distemper by his own Acquisition. Neither Malice or Envy ever found footing in his breast. His Countenance is an open Index to an heart, where good humour and good nature, with Calm Serenity, uninterrupted with corroding Cares, securely dwell. No wonder then, his form
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should not be bent, or his Brows furrowed with the premature marks of age.

This may hurt him in the eyes of those, who measure understanding and judgment by the real, adventitious or assumed appearances of Age, the most precarious proof of Sense. But this is a most idle and ridiculous objection. Let him be brought to the proper Test, and judge upon fair trial, not by outward appearances. It is certain, if age be measured by the length of practice at the Bar, that this Gentleman is, by years, of longer standing than some of the Candidates, who start this unmanly Objection.

The next, indeed, I fear, is of greater weight, with some people. He is my friend, the friendship is mutual, and it must be permanent, because it arises, not like what is commonly professed, from a *Confederacy in Vice*; but is founded on the unalterable Principles of Virtue. Upon these Principles, and these only, I do, as far becomes me, recommend him; no further.

It is said, my Recommendation will hurt him. I must yet be too charitable to believe it: For, if it does hurt him with others, it should establish him in the affection of the Commons, unless some better Cause can be assigned.

It is a trite, and often proves, a true saying, that *those who injure a man, never forgive him*; while the Opposite holds as just, that *the injured Man often forgives the Offenders and forgets the Injury*.

Time will shew how applicable these Adages are to the Board of Aldermen and to me. I never gave these gentlemen, nor any of them just cause of Offence. I confess, not without some Exultation, that I was the first who opened and exposed the Tyranny and Usurpation of the Board, in the City, and layed a foundation for the Reformation, which has since, partly taken place. So that the Voice of the Legislature has since proved, I was, at least in part, in the Right.

The Voices of the Free and Independent Electors called me home, and vested me with the important trust I now bear, in the discharge of which they have so often honoured me with their Approbation. I was since chosen a Common Council-man; and in my Conduct in that Station gave no good man offence.

Although the whole, and every individual of the Board thought it fit to set themselves against me, in these Elections; yet, I dare appeal to them whether my Conduct in either Station did not prove a just Disposition to Reconciliation, to Peace, Harmony and Amity. I challenge my direst Foe to shew the Instance where a good Measure, proposed in the Commons of the Nation or the City, whether come from a Minister or an Alderman, ever wanted my utmost, though feeble Assistance; or where a bad Measure, offered by friend or foe, wanted my zealous opposition.

If my Satisfaction were not allayed with surprise and Concern at what has since passed ; I should with pleasure reflect, that till the Corn Bill passed before Christmas last, my Conduct, both as a Member of Parleмент and a Common Council-man was fully approved, or seemed to be approved by the Board of Aldermen. They must have seen, that in my political Capacity, I made no other distinction than what was just, between the Aldermen and Commons, and that I labored upon all occasions to unite both parts of the Assembly in Sentiments and one Common Interest. They acknowledged it. And so far was I intrusted with their Confidence, that the Leaders of the Board and the Recorder joined in recommending me to the succeeding Assembly for a Common Council-man.

I would beg leave to ask these Gentlemen, how just they thought it, that their Recommendation of me obstructed their Intentions ? If they were in earnest and in the right, I was the same man, I was before I was distinguished by their Recommendation. And if they were but counterfeiting and actually wrong ; I could not be the worse for a pretended Recommendation. May not the same be said, with respect to my Regards for Mr. Dunkin ? If I be right, it is an Argument in his favor ; if wrong, his merit can not be lessened by my Attachment, whether well or ill founded real or pretended.

If the Gentlemen are disposed for Peace, and for promoting the true Interest and Honor of the City, and just Concord between the Governing Parts of the Corporation, as I must now suppose and hope
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they are ; they shall ever find me ready to forgive and forget what is passed, and to concur with them in every just and proper Measure, and that with the same dispassionate and disinterested Views, that have hitherto animated and directed my Conduct. It will then be the duty of every good Common Council-man to join and heartily to promote these happy Views.

But, if they still arrogate to themselves powers derogatory from and inconsistent with those of the Commons and Citizens ; if they think proper to persist in their late extraordinary Unanimity in opposing, oppressing, abusing and vilifying me, and the Commons and Citizens in me ; Self-defence and Self-justification will authorise and require other Measures at our Hands, and it will then become incumbent upon the Commons and Citizens to unite and by all lawful Means, to oppose and reject all their bad purposes and Measures.

But, I hope the time is at hand, when they will make all Opposition and Contest unnecessary in the City ; that we shall be no longer like *an house divided* AGAINST ITSELF, which can never stand secure ; but that we shall all, in our respective Spheres, bear and forbear with each other, unite firmly, and by that Union become strong enough to assert and maintain the Rights and Privileges of the City and Citizens, against all Enemies domestic as well as foregne.

I solemnly declare, this is my principal wish and my mean Intention in recommending a Man, who stands inconnected with and independent of Power, a man, who must hold an equal Indifference to Aldermen

dermen and Commons; a Man, who is incapable of setting himself at the head, or even of becoming a Member, of any faction in the City; a Man, who can no more join with the Commons against the Aldermen, than he can uphold the Aldermen against the Commons, but would certainly look upon himself, as the Servant, not of a part alone, but of the whole; a man who, instead of widening, would repair the Breaches made between the governing Parts of the City; a Man, in whom the Corporations would find an affable, benign and zealous Advocate, and the Poor, a faithful Friend and Protector.

Such an Officer could not fail of making the City fully answer the Definition of a Body Politic and the great Ends of the Institution. Such an Officer would bravely oppose himself to every Incroachment on the Liberties of the City, to every Violation of the Rights and Privileges of the Citizens, alike regardless of the Frowns, Favors and Menaces of the Ministers of Power. Can this be expected from dependent Placemen or slavish Pensioners?---Let every day's experience answer this Question.

Let then every worthy Alderman and Common Council-man weigh these Considerations coolly and dispassionately. Their Declarations and Determinations on Monday next will prove of greater Importance, than any that have yet fallen before any Member of either Board. More depends upon the present Election of Recorder, than perhaps upon any that has been made in the memory of any man living. Is there an Alderman, a Sheriff, a Sheriff's Peer, a Commoner or a Citizen, who
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does not earnestly wish and long to emerge from the Slavery that has so long disgraced all parts of the City? Whose Heart does not yearn to see the several Branches of the City, with the Administration of Justice in the City Courts restored to their just Rights, Dignity and Authority?-----Who loves his King and Country, and does not ardently desire to see the Name of Freeman made an honorable and advantageous Distinction?

Can you hope for these and the many other of late suppressed Advantages being restored by any other means; than the happy Concurrence of the Members with the Recorder of this City?-----Can you expect these Benefits from Courtiers? from Placemen or Pensioners? from Purchasers of Employments or Bribers of Electors?---Good Citizens must maturely weigh these things, before they give a Vote, which they can never recall, and on which, the fate of this whole City depends.

But whoever you determine to choose into this Office, it is incumbent on you to use some means to keep him closely connected with the City: The Office is lately made, contrary to the Institution, and to the antient Laws and Customs of the City, in effect, for Life. The Recorder may now become a Placeman, a Pensioner, a Courtier, a Slave, and almost totally neglect and contemn the City and the Citizens, without your being able to remove him. As human Nature is frail, let me advise you to reduce the standing Salary to what it formerly was, before the late Recorder got an Augmentation. Then to keep up the Dignity of the Office, give any Augmentation you judge proper, but let it be done annually,

nually, upon a Petition, which you may either reject or grant, as you shall see just Cause; and thus the Office will, in effect, stand upon the antient footing, which was, and no Doubt, should ever be, *during the City's pleasure.*

Now let me close with a word or two in further justification of my Conduct upon this Occasion.-- If I did not wish to serve you further, I should not wish to have a Recorder or another Member chosen to co-operate with me. I shall never grow weary of your Service, while you, by generously assisting and supporting your Servant, prove you deserve every good man's care.

If you choose a Recorder on whom you and I may rely; my task will be enlarged. But if you choose a Recorder and a Member in whom I cannot confide; you at once tie up my hands and make me more useless than ever, amidst the most fervent Zele and faithful Intentions to serve you. And though your late Conduct to me binds me for ever to your Service, and makes it impossible I should quit my task or the kingdom for a Day, while you continue in the same disposition; may I not consider your appointing men to these Offices, of different Sentiments, Dispositions and Connexions from mine, as a kind of discharge from your Service.

I thought it my indispensable Duty to lay all these Matters open to your View, as far as time and circumstances could admit.

I find I am charged with having introduced my Friend to the Electors, and solicited and asked Votes for him.

To this, I answer, that I did attend Mr. Dunkin to most of the Commons, with whom I was acquainted. Where I had an Opportunity, I gave a Sketch of his general Character and my Motives for wishing he was Recorder of the City.

I thought it the Duty of my Sphere to do this ; and I was confirmed in my opinion, by finding, that several had generously declared, they would take my Recommendation of Persons to fill one of both the vacant places. In gratitude to this new Instance of the Confidence of my Fellow Citizens, I thought myself bound to attend them. And I call upon them to attest my Conduct upon the Occasion ; whether I received or looked for a Promise, or offered any kind of unjust or unfair Influence. Those who are pleased to recollect my Conduct, when I stood twice a Candidate for this City's Seat in Parlemtent, will testify that so far from extorting or asking Promises from the Electors, I relinquished and cancelled those that some generous hearts voluntarily intrusted me withal, and advised them to keep themselves absolutely disengaged and free, till they came to tender their Votes in open Court. It is hardly to be imagined, I could break through a rule for another, which I observed and enjoined with respect to myself. And I hope, I shall now see this golden rule still more strictly observed by all Electors ; since he who is by force, fraud or artifice, surprised into a promise against the interest of his Country, and his own Judgment and Conscience, has no way of attoning for his Error, but by taking the first Opportunity of breaking through the illicit or unjust engagement. A wise man however will be cautious in reducing himself to this disagreeable Alternative.

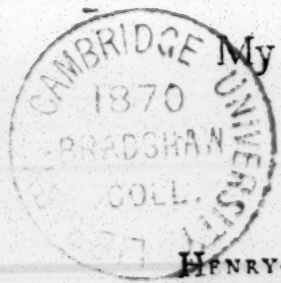
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I cannot conclude, without taking notice of a circumstance in the Advertisements of the Candidates, which seems to deserve severe animadversion. Why do these Gentlemen in an Address to this City, haul in the Word *Aldermen*, which never yet made a part of the Titule of the Corporation? Can Candidates for the Office of Recorder be ignorant of this? To what cause then shall I ascribe it? ---If I were inclined to be ill-natured, I should call this a little piece of mean, servile flattery. But I shall not pronounce it such, till I am informed, whether or not they introduce this word in their Petition. If any man does, he must fall under my Censure and should under yours; for, it is a sufficient Cause for rejecting the Petition; it does not, it can not come before the General Assembly of the Body Corporate of the City, whose titule is onely, the LORD MAYOR, SHERIFFS, COMMONS and CITIZENS. And as there is no such body politic known by the stile of the LORD MAYOR, ALDERMEN, SHERIFFS, COMMONS AND CITIZENS; if a petition with this or the like Address, should pass the Board, it is the Duty of the Commons to reject it, not onely for the misnomer, but for it's evil tendency.

I would not be thought by this to desire to abolish the word or the Institution of Aldermen. There is no man, who wishes more to vest all proper power in the Board and to restore it to just weight, Dignity and Authority, than I. They were the Usurpations and Abuses, not the lawful and just Power and Authority of the Board that induced me at any time to oppose or expose that Body. I shall ever be ready to give them due weight and a proper share in the Government of
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the City, and to make them as respectable a Bench of Magistrates, as the worthiest of the Board can wish; and I shall heartily concur in endeavouring to fix this Corporation on the same respectable footing with that of London, where the Titule is, Lord Mayor, Aldermen and Common Council. But till the Crown or the Legislature, which alone can alter the titule or the Powers of a Corporation, shall in due Course make this Addition to the titule of the City, I shall think it my Duty constantly and uniformly to oppose an Incroachment even in name. I mean no more, and think you can do no less.

Though I repose the most boundless confidence in your good Sense, public Spirit and Integrity, I cannot help lamenting, that there was not a little more time given You to deliberate on the choice of this important and great Officer. If this could have been, I am persuaded the weight of your several Corporations would have seconded your good Intentions, by spirited Instructions. But, I hope, the Board of Aldermen will now prove themselves the *real*, not the *spurious* parents of the City, and not suffer their *Child* to be *divided* and *broken in Junder*. If this be the *Cal*, we shall all again unite in perfect peace; Concord and Amity, and all be free and happy, to contribute to which, is the sole Aim and Ambition of,



My most honored and beloved Countrymen,
Fellow-Citizens and Friends!

Your own,

C. LUCAS.

HENRY-STREET,
June 18th 1766.

